

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 114876 TOSEC 040337

FOR MR. GELB ONLY FROM BARTHOLOMEW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, MPOL

SUBJECT: FY 78 DEFENSE BUDGET ITEMS AFFECTING SALT

AS PER YOUR REQUEST, TED MATHISON AND VERSHBOW IN ISP
PUT TOGETHER A QUICK SCAN OF THE FY 78 DEFENSE BUDGET WITH
AN EYE TOWARD ITEMS WHICH COULD AFFECT SALT. THEIR
COMMENTS, WHICH MARK RAMEE HAS SEEN, FOLLOWS. I HAVE
ALSO TALKED WITH SOME OTHERS AS YOU DIRECTED. SOME
INTERESTING IDEAS BUT THESE NEED TO BE LOOKED INTO MORE
CAREFULLY. WILL CABLE RESULTS ASAP. BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE FOLLOWING SUMMARIZES CURRENT STATUS AND IMPLICA-
TIONS FOR SALT OF STRATEGIC WEAPON SYSTEM PROPOSALS CON-
TAINED IN FY 78 DEFENSE BUDGET. SENATE COMPLETED ACTION
ON WEAPONS PROCUREMENT BILL ON MAY 17 FOLLOWING EARLIER
MARK-UP BY HOUSE. BILL NOW GOES TO CONFERENCE COMMITTEE
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FOR RESOLUTION OF SENATE-HOUSE DIFFERENCES.

2. B-1.A. PROGRAM STATUS: ADMINISTRATION PROPOSAL FOR
REDUCTION OF FY 78 PROCUREMENT OF B-1 FROM EIGHT TO
FIVE AIRCRAFT WAS APPROVED BY HOUSE AND SENATE. HOUSE
EMPHASIZED NEED TO REEXAMINE REDUCTION IN LIGHT OF LACK OF
PROGRESS IN SALT AND STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING

THE TRIAD WITH A MODERN BOMBER FORCE. A PRESIDENTIAL DE-

CISION ON THE TOTAL NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT TO BE PROGRAMMED IS STILL PENDING AND IS DUE IN JUNE.

B. SALT IMPACT: NOT SIGNIFICANT. THE SMALL SCALE OF INITIAL B-1 PROCUREMENT WOULD NOT AFFECT OUR ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE LIMITATIONS ON HEAVY BOMBER MODERNIZATION, SHOULD THIS PROVE DESIRABLE. AT THE SAME TIME, MAINTENANCE OF SOME MOMENTUM IN B-1 PRESERVES AN ELEMENT OF OUR BARGAINING LEVERAGE. THE CUTBACK FROM EIGHT TO FIVE CAN BE PRESENTED AS AN INDICATION THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT MADE A FINAL PROCUREMENT DECISION. HOUSE RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE PROCUREMENT CUTBACK, IN VIEW OF LACK OF PROGRESS IN SALT, COULD BE HIGHLIGHTED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS AS INDICATIVE OF US DOMESTIC IMPATIENCE WITH, AND LIKELY REACTION TO, SOVIET INFLEXIBILITY IN SALT.

3. MINUTEMAN III. A. PROGRAM STATUS: IN EARLY MAY THE ADMINISTRATION REVERSED ITS EARLIER POSITION CALLING FOR TERMINATION OF MM III MISSILE PROCUREMENT. THE REVISED REQUEST CALLED FOR PROCUREMENT OF 10 ADDITIONAL MISSILES FOR STORAGE TO KEEP THE PRODUCTION LINE OPEN PENDING A REVIEW OF THE PROGRAM. THE 10 NEW MISSILES WILL PROVIDE YET ANOTHER SOURCE OF SPARE PARTS FOR MM IIIS ALREADY IN THE INVENTORY -- BEYOND THE 60 EXTRA MISSILES PROCURED IN THE PAST YEAR. FY 77 FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT THIS PRODUCTION. THE HOUSE AND SENATE AGREED TO THE REQUEST.

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B. SALT IMPACT. THE 10-MISSILE PROCUREMENT SHOULD HAVE NO SIGNIFICANT BEARING ON OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION IN SALT. THE MAINTENANCE OF AN OPEN PRODUCTION LINE MIGHT BE marginally useful AS A REMINDER TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE COULD BEGIN REPLACING MORE MM IIS WITH MM IIIS IN THE ABSENCE OF MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN SALT.

4. MX MISSILE. A. PROGRAM STATUS: THE CARTER PROPOSAL CALLED FOR REDUCTION IN FUNDING (\$134 MILLION VICE \$294.4 MILLION) FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE MX, THEREBY SLIPPING THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT DATE FROM FY 84 TO FY 85. HOUSE AND SENATE SUPPORTED REQUEST. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MISSILES TO BE PROCURED IS NOT SPECIFIED IN THE BUDGET.

B. SALT IMPACT: BASICALLY NO EFFECT. OUR FLEXIBILITY IN SALT FOR NEGOTIATING A BAN ON TESTING AND FOR DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS SHOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY THIS REVERSION TO THE ORIGINAL SCHEDULE FOR MX DEPLOYMENT. WE RETAIN THE OPTION TO DEPLOY MX IN FY 1985 OR POSSIBLY

SOONER IF A REACCELERATION OF THE PROGRAM IS DEEMED APPROPRIATE IN THE FUTURE.

5. TRIDENT SSBN/SLBM. A. PROGRAM STATUS: THE ADMINISTRATION REQUESTED FUNDING FOR TWO TRIDENT SSBNS AND THE TRIDENT I MISSILE IN FY 78. FY 78 PROCUREMENT WILL INCREASE THE NUMBER OF TRIDENTS AUTHORIZED AND APPROPRIATED TO SEVEN WITH FUNDING FOR 144 MISSILES (168 MISSILES ARE REQUIRED FOR SEVEN BOATS). HOUSE AND SENATE APPROVED THE REQUEST BUT DID NOT ENDORSE EXPANSION OF THE TRIDENT PROGRAM BEYOND 10 SSBMS. THE SENATE ALSO AUTHORIZED \$5 MILLION FOR A TRADEOFF STUDY PRIOR TO ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRIDENT II MISSILE. THE IOC FOR THE TRIDENT SYSTEM IS SEPTEMBER 1979.

B. SALT IMPACT: THE AUTHORIZATION FOR SEVEN TRIDENT BOATS DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURE FROM CURRENT SECRET

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RENT POLICY, AND SHOULD NOT AFFECT OUR SALT BARGAINING POSITION WITH RESPECT TO POSSIBLE RESTRAINTS ON SLBM MODERNIZATION. THE TEMPORARY CEILING OF 10 TRIDENT SSBNS COULD CONCEIVABLY BE POINTED OUT TO THE SOVIETS AS A SIGN THAT WE ARE NOT LOCKED INTO A FULL TRIDENT PROGRAM -- YET.

6. CRUISE MISSILES. A. PROGRAM STATUS: THE ADMINISTRATION REQUESTED \$362 MILLION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES. IT PROPOSED DEFERRING FULL-SCALE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTI-SHIP TOMAHAWK AND APPLICATION OF THE FUNDS THUS SAVED TO DEVELOPMENT OF THE GLCM. THE HOUSE TRIMMED \$35 MILLION FROM THE REQUEST AND AUTHORIZED ONLY \$3.9 MILLION FOR THE GLCM INSTEAD OF THE \$27.9 MILLION REQUESTED. THIS AMOUNT IS FOR A FEASIBILITY STUDY OF THE GLCM AS THE HOUSE QUESTIONED THE UTILITY OF THE GLCM, GIVEN THE AVAILABILITY OF THE PERSHING MISSILE AND OTHER WEAPON SYSTEMS. FUNDS WERE PROVIDED FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH THE ALCM AND TOMAHAWK WITH THE HOUSE STRESSING THE NEED FOR AN ANTI-SHIP VERSION OF THE LATTER. THE QUESTION OF A NUCLEAR WARHEAD FOR THE ANTI-SHIP VERSION WAS LEFT OPEN.

THE SENATE SUPPORTED THE HOUSE FUNDING BUT QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF DOD'S PLAN -- BECAUSE OF TECHNICAL RISK -- TO PUSH DEVELOPMENT OF THE LONG-RANGE VARIANT OF THE ALCM (ALCM-B) VERSUS THE SHORT-RANGE VERSION (ALCM-A). THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT DATE FOR THE ALCM-A HAS IN THE PAST YEAR BEEN ADVANCED 18 MONTHS AND IS NOW FY 81. THE DEPLOYMENT DATE FOR THE ALCM-B AND TOMAHAWK IS FY 80.

B. SALT IMPACT: THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS SHOULD NOT

AFFECT OUR MOSCOW SALT POSITION ON CRUISE MISSILES. THEIR PRIMARY EFFECT IS TO SLOW GLCM DEVELOPMENT. A MORE SIGNIFICANT CONCERN IS THE SCHEDULE FOR TESTING CRUISE MISSILES, WHICH IS NOT APPARENTLY KEYED TO OUR POSITION IN

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SALT. WE HAVE ALREADY TESTED A TOMAHAWK AT SLIGHTLY MORE THAN 1500 KM, AIR LAUNCHED FROM A TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. THE GENEVA BRIEFING BOOK (CRUISE MISSILE PAPER) PROVIDES HIGHLIGHTS OF THE TEST SCHEDULE.

7. CIVIL DEFENSE. A. PROGRAM STATUS: THE ADMINISTRATION HAD REQUESTED \$90 MILLION FOR CIVIL DEFENSE (CD) DURING FY 78. THE HOUSE AUTHORIZED \$134.8 MILLION AND THE SENATE \$95.3 MILLION. THE SENATE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE CD PROGRAM BUT INDICATED THAT A RE-DIRECTION OF CD ACTIVITIES WAS PREMATURE AT THIS TIME. COMPLETION OF AN ONGOING CIA STUDY OF SOVIET CD AND A MANAGEMENT REVIEW OF THE US PROGRAM WILL PERMIT A MORE SOLID BASIS FOR RE-EVALUATION OF US REQUIREMENTS. THE SENATE ALSO STRESSED THE NEED FOR A STUDY OF US ECONOMIC RECOVERY CAPABILITIES FOLLOWING A NUCLEAR ATTACK.

B. SALT IMPACT. WE SEE NO DIRECT BEARING ON SALT. THE OVERALL AMOUNT OF CD FUNDING IS STILL RELATIVELY SMALL (EVEN AT THE LEVEL RECOMMENDED BY THE HOUSE), ALTHOUGH THE TREND IS UPWARD. WHAT IS SIGNIFICANT IS THAT BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE HAVE INDICATED CONCERN OVER THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE US PROGRAM WHICH MAY PORTEND MAJOR FUNDING INCREASES IN THE YEARS AHEAD. A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN US CD CAPABILITIES COULD BE SEEN BY THE SOVIETS AS POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING, PARTICULARLY WHEN COUPLED WITH THE ADVANCES CURRENTLY ENVISIONED FOR US STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS.

8. IN EFFORT TO PROVIDE MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY TO THE PRESIDENT IN NEGOTIATING SALT, THE SENATE APPROVED AN AMENDMENT (HUMPHREY) THAT ASSERTS CONGRESSIONAL READINESS TO CONSIDER "... SUCH MODIFICATIONS IN US STRATEGIC ARMS PROGRAMS AS THE PRESIDENT MAY RECOMMEND TO FACILITATE EITHER NEGOTIATION OR AGREEMENT IN SALT." THIS INCLUDES THE FLEXIBILITY TO ACCELERATE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC

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PROGRAMS IF DEEMED NECESSARY. CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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